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By-Coffin, Gregory C.

How Evanston, Illinois Integrated all of its Schools.

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Discussed are the methods used by Evanston's Board of Education to desegregate the entire school system. In 1964 the Board resolved to eliminate defacto segregation and a citizen's commission was appointed to develop a plan. Aided by computer experts, a redistribution of students was worked out which used the schools more efficiently while conserving some of the neighborhood schools concept. The racial balance of Negroes in any school ranged from 17 to 25 percent. One-way busing appeared to be a pragmatic, although perhaps unfair, way to desegregate. This device was instituted only after a well-prepared survey revealed that 92 percent of the Negro parents approved. Although housing patterns determine defacto segregation, nevertheless the schools have a responsibility to initiate change in their own province. It is also pointed out that protest activity by civil rights groups was an important spur to movement by the Board. As of 1967, all schools are fully integrated physically. Now the community must work toward "psychological integration." (NH)

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HOW EVANSTON, ILLINOIS INTEGRATED ALL OF ITS SCHOOLS

Prepared by
Gregory C. Coffin, Superintendent of Schools
Community Consolidated Schools, District 65
Cook County Evanston, Illinois

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In a few brief pages I wish to present a sort of "cookbook" approach to school desegregation. The researchers resent this approach and talk about it in a deprecating way. But I am a pragmatic professional, and as such, I must be concerned with what actually works: I hope that we have theory to cover it.

Let me first of all describe our city to you very briefly. Evanston is small: our school district is only 9.46 square miles. The population of the school district, according to the 1960 U.S. Census, was 88,153. Again using '60 Census figures, we have 69,739 whites, 6,951 Negroes, and 2,593 of other races. This breakdown will not add up to the total. The missing 9,000 live in the Skokie part of our district. These people all are white.

Some people have the impression that Evanston is a wealthy, homogeneous suburb like Winnetka, Glencoe, or Highland Park. This is not the case at all. I don't mean to imply that Evanston is a poverty-stricken city. It's not! But it is reasonably heterogeneous and Table I, giving the percentage distribution of jobs, indicates the

TABLE I
EMPLOYMENT OF EVANSTON RESIDENTS

Professional	23.7%
Clerical	17.9%
Service	17.8%
Managers	13.5%
Sales	11.5%
Craftsmen	6.6%
Laborers	2.3%
Made No Response	6.7%

heterogeneity of the city. The income levels are not low, but Table II shows that they are not comparable, say, to Darien, Connecticut (where I was Superintendent before coming to Evanston), with a median income of over $20,000 a year.

TABLE II

MEDIAN INCOME	$ 9,193
43.8% of Population Earning	$10,000+
Median Home Value	$24,300
Median Rent	$ 133

So there is some heterogeneity in Evanston.

The map, Figure I*, of the school district shows the elementary attendance areas; the dots represent Negro youngsters. The Chicago Sanitary District Canal is our Mason-Dixon line. Schools above it are all white; those along the lake front are all white;

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* On the last page of this paper.

those along the bottom are virtually all white, with the exception of the central triangle. In the center is the heavy concentration of Negro students.

Actually the school serving this area was all Negro up until 1966; the next school to the south was 65% Negro. There are three other naturally integrated schools: Noyes, Washington, and Central. But the majority of schools were zoned strictly by neighborhood and natural barriers, and given our housing pattern, they were white. This housing pattern appears to be protected by the realtors as though it were sacred. As you drive through the Negro section of town and across the canal, you wonder how this could happen in America today.

That is the situation the Board of Education has been faced with for some time. It has spent a substantial amount of time working on the problem. The chronology in Table III lists some of the things that have been done since 1961. The first recognition that de facto segregation in the schools was a problem occurred in 1961. I won't attempt to describe all the subsequent steps, but let me simply point out some of the most significant. The initiation of the voluntary transfer program in 1963 was significant. This provided integration in some previously all-white schools. The action taken in December, 1964 - a resolution by the Board of Education to eliminate de facto segregation - was one of the most important steps taken along the way. This was not a wishy-washy, theoretical kind of resolution, but a clearly-written, lucid resolution which said that de facto segregation in the schools is detrimental to the education of all

TABLE III

BD. of ED. Actions Toward Achieving Full School Integration

1.	1961	DISTRICTWIDE WORKSHOPS FOR TEACHERS IN HUMAN RELATIONS
2.	SUMMER, 1962	SUMMER SCHOOL AT FOSTER
3.	SEPT, 1963	VOLUNTARY TRANSFER POLICY IMPLEMENTED
4.	OCT., 1963	INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE APPOINTED
5.	JUNE, 1964	MIDDLE SCHOOL CONCEPT ADOPTED
6.	OCT., 1964	APPOINTMENT OF FOSTER SCHOOL COMMITTEE
7.	DEC., 1964	RESOLUTION TO ELIMINATE DE FACTO SEGREGATION ADOPTED
8.	JUNE, 1965	HEAD START LAUNCHED
9.	SEPT., 1965	CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION APPOINTED
10.	SEPT., 1965	HIGHER HORIZONS IN HUMAN RELATIONS LAUNCHED
11.	APRIL, 1966	PROJECT BOOST LAUNCHED
12.	AUG., 1966	VOTE TO ESTABLISH KDG. CENTER AND LAB SCHOOL
13.	SEPT., 1966	KINDERGARTEN CENTER OPENED AT FOSTER
14.	OCT., 1966	ADVISORY COMMISSION RECOMMENDS SCHOOL BOUNDARY REVISIONS
15.	NOV., 1966	BOARD ADOPTS NEW ATTENDANCE AREAS
16.	JULY, 1967	300 TEACHERS ATTEND FIVE WEEK INSTITUTE ON INTEGRATED EDUCATION
17.	SEPT., 1967	LAB SCHOOL OPENS - SCHOOLS FULLY INTEGRATED

boys and girls and must be eliminated. The Board at that time resolved to eliminate de facto segregation. In September, 1965, a citizens' advisory commission made up of eighteen people representing a very broad spectrum of the city population was appointed. This commission was appointed not to study the problem further, because lots of study already had taken place, but to develop a plan for eliminating de facto segregation. The commission was directed to report back to the Board of Education within one year. (It was during this year that I went to Evanston and became involved.) The Board made available a limited amount of money - $5,000 - to the commission to employ some computer experts from the Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute. Some committee members had the idea that the computer might be a helpful tool in seeking alternate solutions to this problem - and indeed it proved to be very helpful. It didn't do everything, but it certainly handled data in a way that we couldn't have handled it ourselves. Incidentally, the Superintendent, one of the Assistant Superintendents, and two principals were members of this 18-member commission.

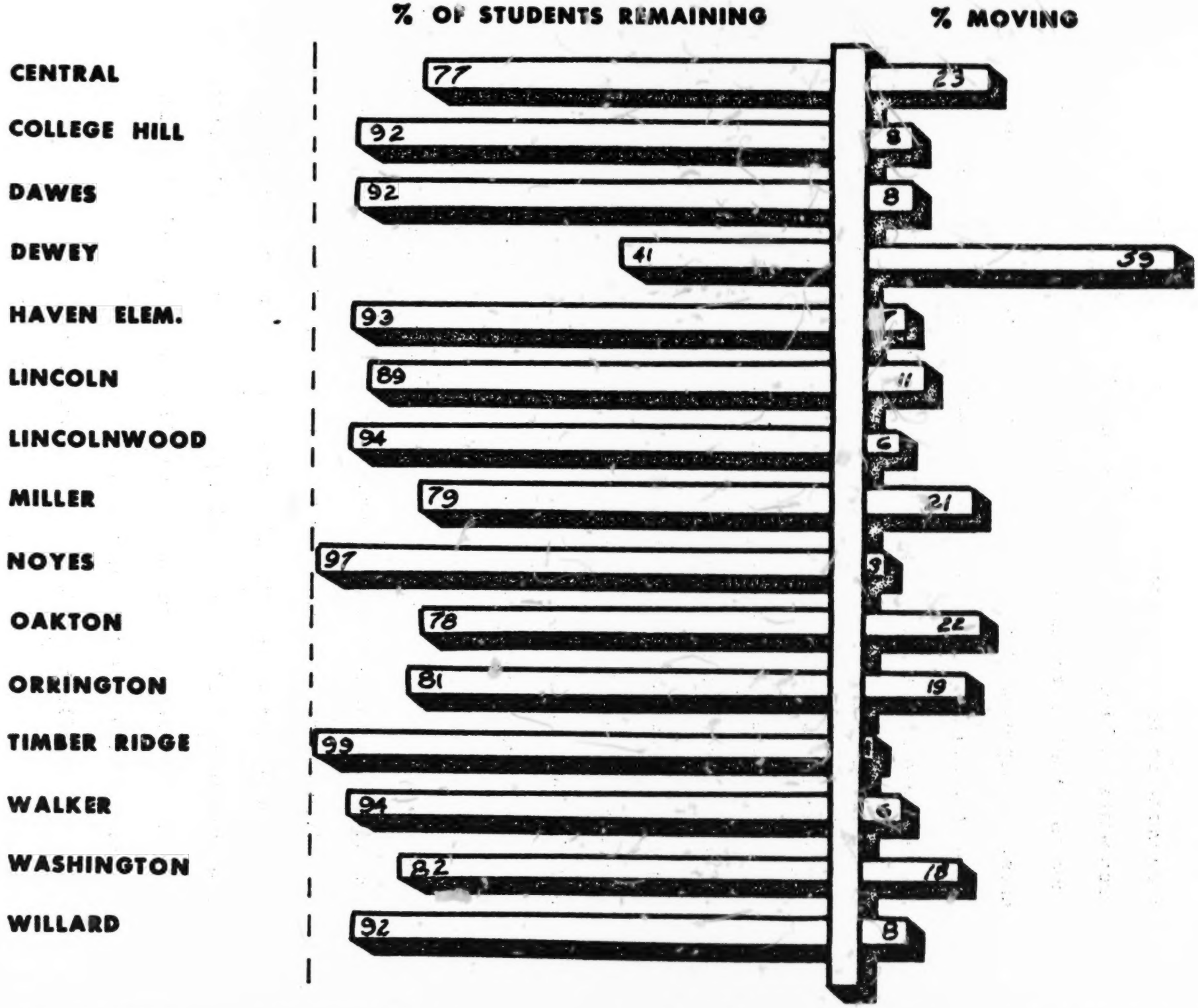
The commission developed its plan and came up with recommendations for the Board of Education. In presenting this plan to the community, we had lots of obstacles to overcome. One of the biggest was misinformation; we had to offer facts where rumor was being pushed, to put facts into information vacuums. One of the main rumors going around was: "Everybody's moving, everybody's changing schools. Why do they have to upset the community this way? Why

can't they do something different or leave us alone and not upset the community?" To deal with this we developed what we call our stability chart, Table IV. This showed that most of the youngsters were not moving. The Foster School (all-Negro) was not shown on the chart because all of the youngsters were moving. But in the Dewey School, which was 65% Negro, 41% remained. In all the other schools much larger percentages were staying. This effectively counteracted the rumor that everybody was moving.

There also was a good deal of concern with neighborhood schools. Evanston is essentially a conservative town; it's predominantly Republican. One thing that the plan did was to permit more effective utilization of the schools and a more consistent use of the neighborhood idea. The computer helped us redistribute the youngsters more evenly throughout the city, and we were able to use our schools more efficiently. This had great appeal to conservative people who wanted a dollar value for a dollar spent in the schools. The computer also was helpful in that it showed us how to reassign most of the Negro student population to schools within walking distance. Under the plan, the lowest proportion of Negroes in any school is 17% and 25% is the highest. Of course, not everything was on a neighborhood basis.

In 1966-67, we had an experimental kindergarten in the Foster School (which was the all-Negro school), in which we beefed up the kindergarten program. The kindergarten center was voluntary and open to children throughout the city. We received 170 applications

TABLE IV


% OF STUDENTS REMAINING
% MOVING
CENTRAL
77
23
COLLEGE HILL
92
8
DAWES
92
8
DEWEY
41
39
HAVEN ELEM.
93
7
LINCOLN
89
11
LINCOLNWOOD
94
6
MILLER
79
21
NOYES
97
3
OAKTON
78
22
ORRINGTON
81
19
TIMBER RIDGE
99
1
WALKER
94
6
WASHINGTON
82
18
WILLARD
92
8

from white children throughout the city. We received 170 applications from white children and were able to take 150 kids. These youngsters came to school in the heart of the ghetto at the request of their parents. In September 1967 that school was converted to an elementary grade (K-5) laboratory school. It is engaged in very extensive educational experimentation. The racial distribution is the same as it is in the rest of the schools - 25% Negro maximum. We had over 900 applications for this school and accepted 650 children.

There were approximately 450 Negro youngsters who could not be assigned to a school within walking distance of their homes. Consequently, these neighborhoods were subdivided into geographic groups (instead of grade levels) of youngsters who lived near each other, and they were designated as groups to five outlying schools.

Such one-way busing is not totally fair, but we were pragmatists - we wanted something that would work, and to work in this case means be voted. Thus the one-way busing. In addition, we compensated somewhat forthe neighborhood selection in the busing process (youngsters going to a school - but not to class - as a neighborhood group), and we've instituted programs to make the parents and the youngsters feel at home, and a part of their new school. These include integration of the scout and all other after-school activities associated with a particular school.

To illustrate further the problems associated with one-way busing, let me discuss a survey we conducted, which was a compromise after a hot controversy within the Board. A motion was made at the critical decision-making Board meeting (attended by over 800 people),

to put the whole issue of integration on a referendum. Some of us felt certain that such a referendum would yield a negative vote, so after a vigorous debate, a compromise was reached. It was voted to conduct a survey among the parents of the youngsters to be bused. They could vote for it or against it. This was an acceptable compromise for the Board, the substitute motion passed, and the next day the administration set about planning for the survey. We knew that the people who were going to be surveyed had to be very well informed about what was at stake. If this survey came out negative it would have had disastrous results for the integration program. Consequently, we very carefully organized an information program for the 450 people who were going to be surveyed. We recruited 50 of our own staff members (40 of the 50 were Negro) and put them through a workshop on survey techniques. A professor from Northwestern drew up a good survey instrument. We developed a time schedule for the survey, and held a luncheon and a breakfast for the Negro clergymen in the community (there are 22 Negro churches) feeling that this was an important channel of communication, as indeed it was and is. We also met with the leadership of about 40 different Negro groups and explained the survey to them so that they could take accurate information back to their organizations. Only then did we start the actual survey process. The interviewers went out in groups of two, at night, after having phoned for an appointment with the parents or guardians. When the surveyers couldn't make contact they went around and knocked on doors. If nobody was home the first time, they went back a second and a third. We received 92% favorable response -

92% of the parents of those 450 kids said, "If the cost of integrated education is busing, then I'm willing to have my child bused". These results were obviously very important.

Just one or two further comments. You cannot anticipate that a plan developed in some other community is going to be perfectly applicable in your community. Every town, every city, has to develop its own plan. Of course there are some elements in any plan which can be incorporated into plans for other communities. And there are some arguments which always are used to attack desegregation plans.

In this connection, you should know that one of the biggest arguments used to attack suggestions that are made is to say that you can't apply what they did in Evanston in another city, because Evanston's only 9-1/2 square miles, or its school district only has 90,000 people, or it has only 22% Negro. These are fallacious arguments. No one would suggest that the Evanston plan could be transferred exactly to Columbus, or Akron, or Dayton, or any other city. But there are elements in the plan which might be useful in any city.

Another of the most dangerous arguments arises when people say that this is not an educational problem but a housing problem; what they mean is that they don't think the schools should be agencies for social change. I find it difficult to know what the schools should be, if not agencies for social change. Social change should be a paramount concern and goal of the schools now, as it has been in the past. After all, we must recognize that the housing patterns are a result of the whole cycle that begins with poor education--

if we say wait for the solution to the housing problem, then we are pushing racial justice off for a long time.

There is another way in which housing and schools are related. In our own community there are tightly segregated sections. We have our own Mason-Dixon line: no Negroes live north of this line, and to the immediate south of this line no white families live. Now up until this September (when all schools were desegregated), a realtor could say to a person: "If you buy a home in this section your youngster will attend these fine all-white schools". The realtor wouldn't say those exact words. He might say: "These are among our best schools". In many cases the innocent home buyer may not be overtly prejudiced, but he has it fixed in his mind that a white school has a better academic standard than an integrated school, and he would weigh that factor in deciding to buy. As of this past September the realtors in Evanston can no longer allude to all-white schools. In sixteen elementary attendance areas, if the home buyer should ask the question about the academic excellence of the school, the response of the realtor can only be on the basis of school quality, not race. There won't be an incentive for the person to buy a home in a section because it has an all-white school. There are no all-white schools. Nor will there be an incentive to avoid another school because it has a 65 percent Negro school. Thus perhaps education can in time have a positive effect upon housing patterns.

The most frequently expressed excuse for doing nothing about <u>de facto</u> segregation is to say that it is the housing segregation that

has to be eliminated first. We must really move on both fronts. Otherwise we are going to wait an awfully long time for anything to happen.

Another frequent argument centers around money. People will argue, for example, that Evanston is relatively wealthy, has a high per-pupil expenditure for education, and that this is the reason why they could afford to desegregate. Thirty-eight thousand dollars for busing, out of a $10,000,000 budget, is the only additional local money spent to implement the desegregation plan. The U. S. Office of Education gave the school district a grant of $123,000 under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to conduct an institute this past summer. Approximately 300 teachers and administrators took part in this program.

Evanston always has supported education at a high level; the citizens have an appetite for good education, and whether integrated or segregated the cost is the same. We had our compensatory education programs, and we found they just didn't do the job; they were some help, but they didn't solve the problem.

So, when Board of Education members, or Superintendents of schools come back with these arguments, they're stalling. You can do it if you want to; but you have to want to do it. I would say that virtually any city or town can go a long way toward integrating all of its schools, if it really wants to do it. If it doesn't want to do it - if it doesn't have the basic community awareness which says "we've got a problem, and we want to solve that problem" - then all

the plans in the world aren't going to make a difference.

Another argument that often is used is that only the liberal communities can do anything. But I've already said that Evanston is conservative. Don't think for a minute that we had a lot of extreme liberals on our Board of Education. We didn't and don't. We did have many organizations - civil rights organizations, churches, League of Women Voters, civic organizations of various kinds - that over a period of time were constantly exerting pressure on the Board of Education, to educate the members to the problem. This was the first job. The next was to develop a concrete, workable plan. Very prominent among the supporting groups were the civil rights activists; they helped the board move. We kid ourselves frequently, and make believe we've been especially virtuous and altruistic in taking these successive steps. However, protest activity was indeed a factor. It does make a difference. Some degree of militancy at the right time and the right place was helpful. I'm using militancy to mean things like demonstrations, and threats of boycotts. I think these were an essential ingredient in the whole picture. Maybe some communities have achieved some degree of success with this whole problem without such activities, but they must be few and far between.

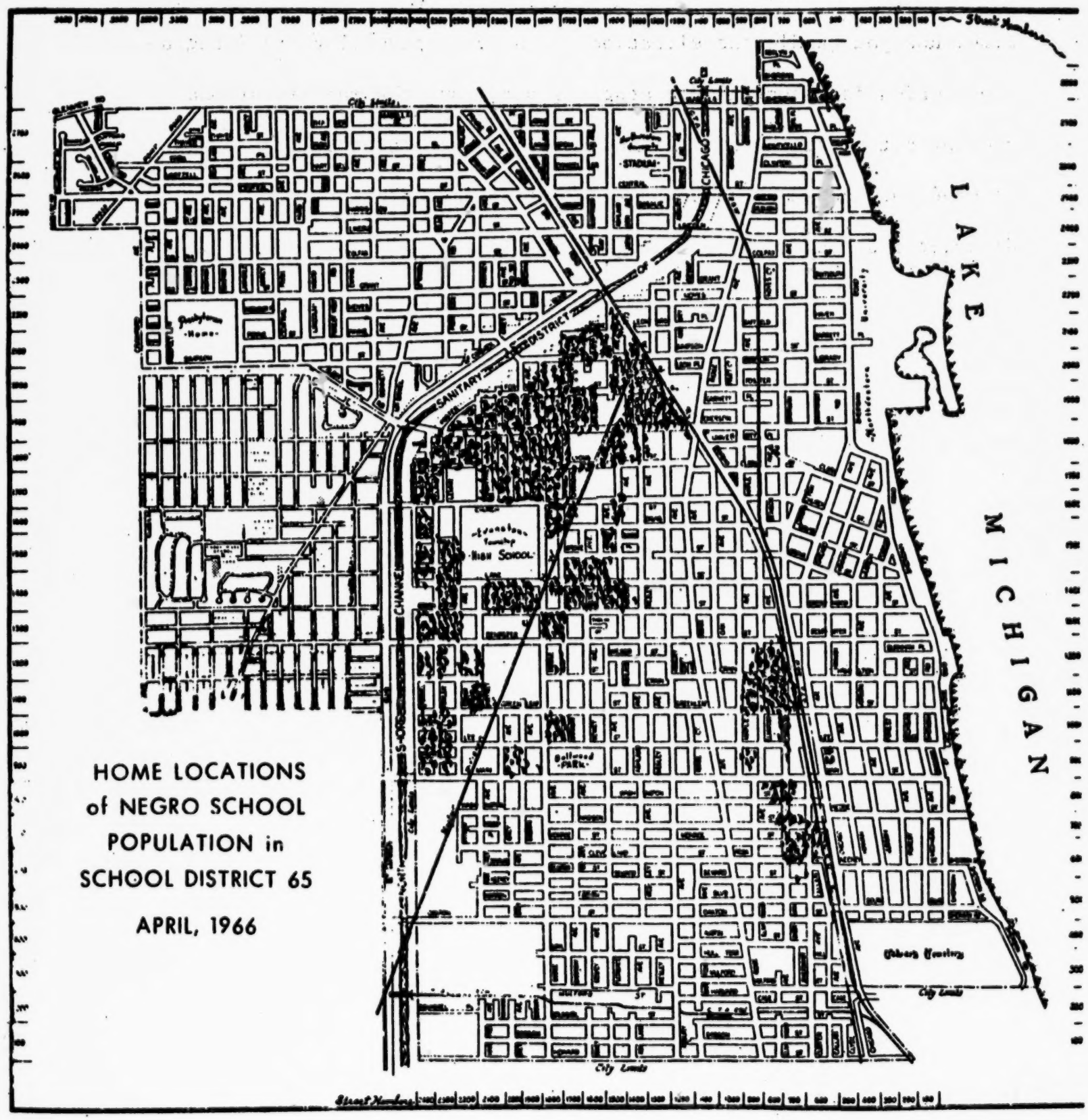
At the time things were going on, as a matter of fact, I was very resentful about some of the things that were happening and I said (fallaciously, I realized in retrospect), that this was creating a white backlash and was not helping. But looking back now I can see that these activities <u>were</u> helping. Not only were they

helping, they were an essential part of the total picture. You have to understand that the white power structure of the city never became involved; it remained aloof. The mayor, the city council, the downtown service clubs, and the big businessmen remained completely aloof, at least in terms of the public record. Much of the effective influence that was brought to bear on the Board of Education came from civil rights people. We are very fortunate in Evanston to have in the NAACP and the Urban League very enlightened leadership, intelligent activists, who were willing to sit down with other members of the community and plan strategy and then implement the strategy together.

Finally, we're just starting! All we've done thus far is move to desegregation; we now have both white and black children in the schools. Our efforts from this point on are directed toward psychological integration. Now we're beginning to focus in on some of the real problems of the classroom teacher in the desegregated situation, and to identify the things that teachers do unwittingly which may perpetuate invidious racial distinctions. We try to point up these problems in as dramatic a way as we can. Some of our textual material for these programs has come from Feiffer's cartoon book. Incidents have been dramatized and put on television tape for teacher viewing and discussion. As I mentioned previously, we received a grant of $123,000 under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for a summer institute dealing with problems of integration. Three hundred of our own teachers enrolled in this institute. Its focus was

to bring in practitioners, people who can give the teachers the nuts and bolts about how, when the classroom is integrated for the first time, how you handle the situation. Achieving psychological integration, which is essentially a state of mind, and the manifestations growing out of that state of mind, will take at least as many years as have been consumed in physically desegregating all of the district's schools.

FIGURE I


LAKE
MICHIGAN
CHICAGO
SANITARY
DISTRICT
HOME LOCATIONS
of NEGRO SCHOOL
POPULATION in
SCHOOL DISTRICT 65
APRIL, 1966